QUAKER HISTORY

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

(Formerly Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia)

Friends' Historical Association
Founded Twelfth Month 4, 1873
Incorporated 1875

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia
Founded Fifth Month 16, 1904

The two societies merged Twelfth Month 1, 1923, when the older Friends' Historical Association elected to membership all the members of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, which thereupon ceased formally to exist. The organization continued under the original name and charter of incorporation.

The apostrophe was dropped from the name First Month 9, 1941.

The Bulletin has been published since 1906.

VOLUME 37

1948

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B U L L E T I N O F

Friends Historical Association

Vol. 37 Spring Number, 1948 No. 1

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BULLETIN OF
Friends
Historical Association

Vol. 37 Spring Number, 1948 No. 1

QUAKER BOTANISTS

By Francis W. Pennell[1]

THERE are several reasons why the observation and study of plants should have appealed to the early Friends. In those days, far more than now, people prepared their own medicines, and there was practical worth in the ability to recognize different kinds of plants.[2] But there must always have been those who were primarily motivated by intellectual curiosity, who felt an urge to learn more of the world about them. Such interest could be given a religious warrant, since the world of Nature was God's world, and they were contemplating the wonders of His creation.

How early were Friends interested in botany? In the very beginnings of our Society there was Thomas Lawson of Westmoreland in northern England, who was convinced by the preaching of George Fox in 1652 and became an active writer on behalf of the new religious movement. He was born in 1630, had attended the University of Cambridge, and at twenty-two was vicar of Rampside, Furness. Fox tells in his *Journal* how Lawson yielded

[1] Elaborated from an address on the "Botanical Interests of Friends" delivered at the Spring Meeting of Friends Historical Association at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, May 19, 1945. Dr. Pennell is Curator of Plants at the Academy.

[2] Both Howard H. Brinton and Frederick B. Tolles have called my attention to George Fox's bequest of a plot of land in Philadelphia to form a botanical garden that was to be planted "with all sorts of physical plants, for lads and lasses, to learn simples there, and the uses to convert them to, — distilled waters, oils, ointments, &c." See letter of Thomas Lower to David Lloyd, 13 February, 1716, in Maria Webb's *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall* (London, 1865), p. 367.

to him all the time at his "steeple house", and that Lawson and many of his congregation were won by "Truth". After that event we hear of Lawson as master of a Friends' School at Great Strickland in Westmoreland, where he remained until his death in 1691. It was from there, under date of "April 9, [16]88" that he sent to John Ray a list of Westmoreland plants that contributed many records to Ray's *Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Brittanicarum* of 1690.[3] It is pleasing to find botanical observation so congenial to the Friendly temperament established so early among us. (There is a genus *Lawsonia,* but Linnæus so named it for Isaac Lawson, a non-Friend who lived in the following century.)

Nearly as early another Friend, of whose background and education one would like to know, was collecting plants under very different skies. In the herbarium of Sir Hans Sloane that is carefully preserved in the British Museum, there is a collection labeled "Plants from Barbados by James Reid the quaker sent hither on King W^ms^ account, 1692." The entry in ames Britten and George S. Boulger's *Biographical Index of Deceased British and Irish Botanists* (second edition revised by A. B. Rendle, London, 1931) corrects the family name to "Reed", and records three packages of specimens, numbered 55, 184, and 284. It appears that Reed also sent specimens to James Petiver, a London apothecary, and to William Courten, a London barrister, both of whose herbaria were later acquired by Sloane. Sir Hans Sloane was a grand figure in the life of England in his day, and, on his death at ninety-three years of age in 1753, his vast accumulation of treasures, bequeathed to the British nation, led to the establish-

[3] Dr. Tolles supplies me with an excerpt from a letter written by Lawson to Sir John Rodes in 1690 that tells of an unfulfilled project. "Now some years ago, George ffox, William Pen, and others were concerned to purchase a piece of land near London for the use of a Garden Schoolhouse and a dwelling-house for the Master, in which garden, one or two or more of every sorte of our English plants were to be planted, as also many outlandish plants. My purpose was to write a book on these in Latin, so as a boy had the description of these in book-lessons, and their vertues, he might see these growing in the garden, or plantation, to gain the knowledge of them: but persecutions and troubles obstructed the prosecution thereof, which the Master of Christ's Colledge in Cambridge [Ralph Cudworth] hearing of, told me was a noble and honourable undertaking, and would fill the Nation with philosophers." For this letter see *A Quaker Post-Bag,* edited by Mrs. Godfrey Locker Lampson (London, 1910), pp. 20-22.

ment of the British Museum. In his young manhood he had been in the West Indies, a voyage lasting from 1687 to 1689 and on which he had himself visited Barbados. One suspects that the young physician Sloane stimulated James Reed's activity, and perhaps there is evidence of it somewhere in the elaborate two-volume report of the voyage that appeared in 1707.

Thomas Lawson and James Reed were observers of the plant world about them, and we find that Friends have been predominantly observational scientists. But the speculative and reasoning mind existed also among early Friends. Thomas Story (1670-1742), the eloquent minister, was, according to Norman G. Brett-James[4], "an enthusiastic botanist", and he tells of Story's influence on Peter Collinson. Most interesting is a letter from Story to James Logan, in which in 1738 he said: "Last summer . . . at Scarborough . . . I further learned, and was confirmed in some things; and that the earth is of much older date, as to the beginning of it, than the time assigned in the Holy Scriptures," and "as to six days' progressive work, by which I understand certain long and competent periods of time, and not natural days."[5]

I know of nothing botanical that Story published, but James Logan (1674-1751), the busy man of affairs and Penn's Secretary of Pennsylvania, found time to make some remarkable experiments. At this day it seems simple enough to prove by suitable removal of the tassels or male flowers that our Indian Corn or Maize requires pollen to fertilize the female flowers, the corn grains to which the "silks" convey the male element. Then the experiment was needed, and Logan's essay, *Experimenta et Meletemata de Plantarum Generatione (Experiments and Considerations on the Generation of Plants),* was a notable contribution to the developing idea that sex characterized plants as well as animals. The work appeared in Latin at Leyden, Holland, in 1739, and in 1747 was reissued in London, with facing pages of Latin and English. The English text was a translation made by Dr. John Fothergill.

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[4] *The Life of Peter Collinson* (1925), p. 73.

[5] Wilson Armistead, *Memoirs of James Logan* (London, 1851), pp. 153-156.

After Story and Logan came long periods of quietism in our Society and later work is almost wholly of the type inaugurated by Lawson. Such observational study fitted well these later Friends.[6] Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a long succession of those who collected plants and studied their identities with much discrimination. But sparks of speculative interest flashed at times in Peter Collinson and John Bartram, self-made naturalists whose activity was at the beginning of this period.

Peter Collinson (1694-1768), was a haberdasher and mercer, or in a single phrase a cloth-merchant, of London, who attained considerable financial affluence. His scientific curiosity was broad, though it tended most strongly to botany. He became a member of the Royal Society in 1728 and was on its council from 1732. To its *Philosophical Transactions* he contributed some original papers, but all short and none of much profundity. The most interesting to us are those in which he took issue with the great Linnæus concerning the hibernation of swallows. Linnæus, for all his learning, gave credence to the popular idea that these birds winter in the mud at the bottoms of streams and ponds, but Collinson insisted that they migrated to a warmer climate. Of much greater importance were papers by other persons that reached the Royal Society through Collinson, and thus found publication in its *Transactions.* Such were James Logan's first report on his experiments with maize that appeared in 1735, and, more especially, Benjamin Franklin's researches on electricity, a study that resulted from information that Collinson had sent to the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1745. Collinson himself helped finance various scientific works, of which the most notable was Mark Catesby's, *Natural History of Carolina* (1754), with its beautiful paintings of both animals and plants; except for Collinson's generous loan to the author its profits "must have fallen a prey to the bookseller." Collinson's interest in botany centered largely on the importation and cultivation of desirable American

[6] The gathering and observation of plants is a gentle and fascinating pursuit, and you may recall that Robert Louis Stevenson in *Virginibus Puerisque* speaks of the desirability of a young lady's selecting a botanist for a husband. He does not chance to mention a Quaker swain.

plants, and his successive gardens at Peckham and Mill Hill contained these treasures. For their obtaining he subsidized several collectors, but especially John Bartram. It was from Bartram that he received the aromatic plant of our Pennsylvania woodlands that Linnæus named *Collinsonia.*[7]

Strict chronological sequence requires the insertion here of the record of John Rutty (1697-1775), an English Friend who obtained an M. D. from the University of Leyden in 1723, and the following year settled in Dublin, Ireland. In 1772 he published, *An Essay towards a Natural History of the County of Dublin,* and, posthumously in 1777, there appeared his *Materia Medica.*

Best known of the botanists of American colonial days is John Bartram (1699-1777). The story has been often told of how this Pennsylvania farmer, living at Darby near Philadelphia, decided to learn about flowers, of his self-taught effort to master the Latin necessary to read the books about them, of his building with his own hands a stone farmhouse above the Schuylkill River and around it forming a garden of choice native plants, of his commission from Peter Collinson to obtain for him and others in England desirable plants, of his various travels through the colonies from Lake Ontario and the Catskill Mountains of New York to South Carolina, and of his appointment in 1765 as "King's Botanist in America" with the resultant trip of that season to the St. John's River in Florida. His plants were largely gathered as roots and seeds, but he also made dried specimens that were sent to Collinson and still survive in the British Museum (Natural History) at London. In his lifetime there were published in London portions of his journals of 1743 to the Onondaga country and Lake Ontario (1751), and to Florida (1769). Bartram's Garden has since been included in an expanding Philadelphia; it was for a century or more operated as a private industry, but is now part of the city's park system and under the special oversight of the John Bartram Association. This group was responsible for the celebration on June 5, 1931 of its Two

[7] For a special consideration of Peter Collinson see Norman G. Brett-James, *Life of Peter Collinson,* (London, 1925). Included is a "Hortus Collinsonianus", or enumeration of all the plants known to have been introduced to England by Collinson; this largely reproduces Lewis Weston Dillwyn's, *Hortus Collinsonianus* of 1843, a work mentioned below.

Hundredth Anniversary[8] and for the recent employment of Dr. Francis Harper on the study of John and William Bartram.[9]

In England Peter Collinson found a keen younger collaborator in his zeal for cultivating choice plants. His fellow-Friend, Dr. John Fothergill (1712-1780), a prominent London physician and the author of various medical papers, developed botanical gardens first at Upton, West Hampshire, in 1762, and then from 1765 at Lea Hall in Cheshire. After his friend's death three years later, he prepared in 1770 an "Account of Peter Collinson" that survives among the manuscripts at the Royal Society. Fothergill's herbarium passed to Sir Joseph Banks, and so is now preserved at the British Museum. In 1774 the German botanist of Scotch ancestry, Andreas Murray, gave the name *Fothergilla* to a tree of our southeastern states.[10]

It was at the request and expense of Dr. Fothergill that William Bartram (1739-1823), John's son, made his travels. He had accompanied his father on his Florida journey, and now, from 1773 to 1777, traveled from Carolina through Georgia and Florida westward to the Mississippi River in the present state of Louisiana. By the time of his return to Philadelphia early in 1778 his father had died, while the Revolutionary War prevented communication with his patron in England; fortunately, Fothergill had received dried specimens which had been sent him directly from the southern colonies and these survive today in the

[8] For an account of this event, with biographical articles on John Bartram by Dr. Rodney H. True and Dr. John H. Barnhart, a "Bartram Bibliography" by the latter, and an account of the "Restoration of Plants in Bartram's Garden" by Samuel N. Baxter, see *Bartonia* 12, *Supplement,* issued December 31, 1931, by The Botanical Club, of Philadelphia. The "Bartram Bibliography" also contains papers by and about William Bartram, and the issue has a special account of William Bartram by Dr. Witmer Stone. The most intimate picture of John Bartram and his cousin accrues from a perusal of their letters as published in the *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall,* edited by William Darlington (Philadelphia, 1849).

[9] In the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* Dr. Harper published in 1942 John Bartram's *Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765, to April 10, 1766,* and in 1943 William Bartram's *Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74, A Report to Dr. John Fothergill.* Both reproduce verbatim the original texts, and are copiously annotated and indexed.

[10] For a special account of Dr. Fothergill see, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends,* by R. Hingston Fox, M. D. (London, 1919).

British Museum (Natural History).[11] William Bartram had kept a journal that was to have passed to Fothergill; the first part did so, and it is this that Dr. Francis Harper has recently annotated. A copy of it and all the remainder stayed with the author, and these were elaborated into the celebrated *Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the extensive territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the country of the Choctaws,* which was first published in Philadelphia in 1791. It has gone through many editions, and even now on behalf of the John Bartram Association, Dr. Harper has just prepared another edition, the first to be adequately annotated. It is surprising that after such experiences of travel, and without ever a report on the material that he had sent to England, William Bartram should have settled down for nearly fifty years of uneventful life in Philadelphia. Such retirement is in sharp contrast to the activity that characterized John Bartram to the end of his days.

It is interesting to compare father and son. John was self-taught and his words were crudely spelled, but they expressed vigorous thought. In reply to Collinson's urge that he read more religious books, he wrote: "My head runs all upon the works of God, in Nature. It is through that telescope I see God in His glory." On a stone block of the house that he built he engraved this distich:

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[11] It is unfortunate that neither John nor William Bartram's specimens were adequately studied in their time nor since. The John Bartram Association has hoped to have them carefully reviewed by Dr. Harper, but that has been impossible because of the recent war and the removal of such treasures to safe storage at a distance from London. Little that the Bartrams collected ever reached Linnæus in Sweden, with the result that few species were based by him on their collections. Linnæus did, however, with characteristic cosmopolitan outlook, honor John Bartram as early as 1747 with a genus *Bartramia* applied to a weedy plant from Ceylon; but posterity, acting long subsequently through the German, Johann Hedwig, has chosen to commemorate him by another *Bartramia* assigned to a widespread though obscure genus of mosses. Botanists of Bartram's time did not know that all valid nomenclature was to commence with the names assigned by their contemporary Carolus Linnæus in his *Species Plantarum* of 1753, with the result that few species accepted by later generations would be based upon the widespread collections of the Bartrams, whereas very many would trace to the plants gathered by John Clayton, clerk of the county of Gloucester, in Virginia, a man who traveled little beyond that colony.

"'Tis God alone, Almyty Lord,
The Holy One, by me adored.
John Bartram, 1770."

This date is so late as to make it seem his answer to Friends, who were then disowning him because of his supposed deistical views.[12] It is said that disownment did not discourage this rugged soul from continued attendance at Friends' meetings, and his children seem to have remained in the Society. William's religious expressions were less personal, and concerned a beneficient deity who cared for his whole creation.

In their opinion of the Indians John and William Bartram are in contrast. For certain Indians, John thought that the right course was to "bang them a plenty", and yet on his last trip south the sick man stayed up long to observe an Indian conference. To William they were naïve children of nature, and his facile pen did much to color the romantic picture, then in process of development, of the untainted goodness of the primitive man.

Perhaps we can say this of father and son. While John sought Truth, William reveled in Beauty. William's *Travels* are replete with the loveliness of the southern forest, the color of its waters, the song and plumage of its birds, its glorious flowers—all that his sensitive eye could see or his spirit feel. No wonder the rising poets of England turned to William's book as an inspiration.[13] Yet it was a serious scientific book too, and only now are we trying to bring to proper scientific recognition the many species of plants[14] and animals that William Bartram incidentally described in his *Travels.*

[12] See "The Disownment of John Bartram", by Henry J. Cadbury in *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* 17 (1928), 16-22.

[13] About this consult especially Professor John L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu,* (1927), wherein we see how much of Coleridge's imagery, both in the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and in "Kubla Khan", grew out of Bartram's word pictures. The *Travels* also are reflected in some of Wordsworth's poems.

[14] In *Bartonia* 23 (1945), 10-35, Dr. E. D. Merrill gives an appraisal of these plant-names under the caption, "In Defense of the Validity of William Bartram's Binomials." He claims that many of these should be adopted, their incidental presentation having been due to Bartram's lifelong expectation of some report coming to him from England. Various zoologists are similarly reviving Bartram's names for birds and other animals.

John Bartram's cousin, Humphry Marshall (1722-1801) next claims our attention. He was a farmer at Marshallton in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and he followed John's example by making a garden, this an arboretum or collection of living trees. Like John, he collected American plants for English patrons, a business in which his nephew, Moses Marshall (1758-1813), aided and succeeded him. The latter traveled, more commercially bent than his cousin William, to the Southern States, and it was for him especially that the German botanist, Schreber, in 1791 named a curious southern Composite genus, *Marshallia.* But the great achievement of the Marshalls was primarily Humphry's, his *Arbustum Americanum,* or, as translated and elaborated on the title page, *The American Grove, or, an Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, Natives of the American United States,* published in Philadelphia in 1785. This was the first descriptive botanical work printed in this country, and in it appeared the first account of many of our trees and shrubs. Humphry had hoped to proceed to an account of our herbaceous plants as well, but the sale of the *Arbustum* was too slow to warrant a second work.[15]

Turning again to England we find in the later eighteenth century a number of Quaker botanists. Stephen Robson (1741-1779) published in London in 1777 the *British Flora,* a work that in spite of its imposing title appears to be little known. Dr. John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815) was like Dr. Fothergill a successful London physician. Though born in the West Indies, where his father owned a small island, he was educated at a Friends' school in Lancashire, and on the death of his father came under the guardianship of Samuel Fothergill, John's younger brother, and so under the influence of John himself. Lettsom likewise developed a botanical garden, but he is remembered botanically as the author in 1781 of *Hortus Uptonensis,* a record of the plants cultivated by Dr. Fothergill in his Upton garden, and in 1782 of *Some Account of the late John Fothergill,* read before a

[15] For an account of "Humphry Marshall, Botanist" see *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* 24 (1935), 77-82. This address I gave at the Association's meeting at the Marshall house at Marshallton on May 18, 1935. In this paper is explained how the first word of Marshall's title "Arbustum" was inadvertently printed "Arbustrum".

medical society and then published. Contemporary botanists proposed *Lettsomia* for two different genera of plants, but neither is in use today. Although born as early as Lettsom, Joseph Cockfield (1740?-1816) of Upton, in Essex, where he was a friend of Fothergill and Lettsom, did not publish his anonymous *Botanist's Guide* until 1813.

Far more important was the work of William Curtis (1746-1799). He was a London apothecary, who brought out a flora of the vicinity of London, *Flora Londinensis,* in parts from 1777 to 1798, a work on *British Grasses* in 1787, and, also in 1787, inaugurated the long career of *The Botanical Magazine,* a journal with colored drawings accompanied by descriptions of plants. Today, over a century and half later, this journal still continues, being the longest-lived of all botanical publications. In honor of Curtis did William Aiton (or actually the botanist, Daniel Solander, whose scholarly work mostly passes under Aiton's name) give the name *Curtisia* to a South African member of the dogwood family (Cornaceæ).[16]

Although, according to the symbols used in Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (2 vols., London, 1867), William Curtis did not retain his membership in the Society of Friends, he seems to have been the center of an active group of scientifically-minded members. His successor as editor of *The Botanical Magazine* was a fellow-Friend, John Sims (1749-1831). He was a physician, whose name is perpetuated in *Simsia,* a genus proposed by Robert Brown for an Australian tree of the peculiar austral family of Proteaceæ. Eleven years younger than Curtis was Robert Barclay (1757-1830), the actual originator of *The Botanical Magazine,* as is acknowledged in the dedication to volume 54. This Robert Barclay, although living in England where he developed a large botanical garden at Bury Hill in Surrey, was the son of Alexander Barclay of Philadelphia, and a great-grandson of the Apologist. For him the botanist Wallich named an Indian genus of water lilies, *Barclaya.* As to the further history of *The Botanical Magazine,* from Sims the editorship

[16] For a recent account, with portrait, see "William Curtis, founder of *The Botanical Magazine,*" in *Endeavour,* 5 (London, 1946), 13-17.

passed in 1826 to William Jackson Hooker, who became Director of Kew Gardens in 1841, and now for over one hundred years the *Magazine* has been issued from the greatest of all botanical institutions. But its inception, and its course for nearly forty years, lay with members of the Society of Friends.

Flora Londinensis by William Curtis passed through a second edition from 1817 to 1826 under the editorship of George Graves, a Friend who, like Curtis, seems to have left the Society. Also like Curtis, Graves took a special interest in grasses, publishing a *Monograph of the British Grasses* in 1822; he also brought out a *Hortus Medicus* in 1834.

(To be concluded)

THE ANNUAL REPORT for 1947 of the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College speaks in particular of the advantages which have resulted from the exchange visits of Dorothy G. Harris, their Assistant Librarian, and Muriel A. Hicks, Assistant Librarian of Friends Library in London. The Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library also profited from a two-months visit by Muriel Hicks, and hopes that Anna B. Hewitt, Assistant Curator at Haverford, will be able to go to London at some future time. All three libraries profited not only in finding new sources of material opening up for them, but particularly in learning about each others' ways and special knowledge and skills. Besides the books and pamphlets which Dorothy Harris brought back from England, Swarthmore also reports the gift of additional Lucretia Mott letters; a file of the rare Quaker antislavery periodical, The *Philanthropist* (1817-1818); many Yearly Meeting *Proceedings* from the Middle West; as well as books and periodicals from Friends in several European countries. The Haverford report for 1946-1947 lists a substantial gift of books from the Friends' Select School, and a number of important additions to the William H. Jenks Collection of seventeenth century Quaker tracts. Some rare Dutch Quaker tracts of the same period were also acquired, as well as a hitherto unknown copy of a letter of George Fox and one of Margaret Fell, his wife. Haverford was also the recipient of three pictures of unusual interest, two pastel portraits of Joseph John Gurney and Eliza P. Gurney, by Amelia Opie, and the original of one of Egbert van Heemskerk's most striking "Quaker Meetings," — a woman preaching from an upturned tub — which had long been lost to view, but was discovered in London by John L. Nickalls, Librarian at Friends House, and purchased by friends of the College. Both the Swarthmore and Haverford reports show an increasing use of their libraries, and indicate a special need for more assistance in cataloguing their books and manuscripts.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1947
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association took place at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, on the Parkway at 26th Street, at 8 p. m. on Eleventh Month 24, 1947. The address of the evening by Marion Nicholl Rawson, on "Art and the Quakers," was a tribute by a specialist in the history of art and the handicrafts to the number of Friends who had been eminent artists and craftsmen. As illustrations, there were original paintings of Edward and Thomas Hicks, lent by the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. After the lecture Friends visited the Museum's special exhibition of costumes, "A Pageant of Fashion," which in addition to having several examples of Quaker dress included pastel portraits of Joseph John and Eliza P. Gurney, by Amelia Opie, lent by Haverford College, and the Swarthmore College portrait of Lucretia Mott by William H. Furness.

At the brief business meeting which preceded the lecture, President William W. Comfort informed the Association of the resignation of the Treasurer, I. Thomas Steere. The following minute of appreciation was adopted:

> We the members of Friends Historical Association wish to express our appreciation and thanks to I. Thomas Steere who has acted as Treasurer of this organization for the last twenty-four years and who now wishes to resign.
>
> Thomas Steere joined the Association in 1923 and in that same year was elected as a member of the Board of Directors and then named Treasurer. During his term of office the membership has grown from about four hundred members to over six hundred and fifty, and the work of recording the payment of dues and handling the accounts of the Association has made greater demands each year upon his time and energies. His faithful and conscientious work has been greatly appreciated by the members of Friends Historical Association, who wish to join in expressing to Thomas Steere their regret at his resignation and their gratitude to him for his long years of service.

For the three-year term expiring in 1950, Horace Mather Lippincott, Susanna Smedley, E. Virginia Walker, William Mintzer Wills, and Edward Woolman were elected to the Board of Directors. At a special meeting of the Directors held immediately after the Annual Meeting, William Mintzer Wills was elected Treasurer of the Association.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL midwinter dinner meeting of Friends Historical Association took place at The Whittier, Fifteenth and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia, on Second Month 25, 1948, at 6:30 p. m. President William W. Comfort presided over the gathering of seventy-five members and guests, introducing the new Treasurer, William M. Wills, and speaking with appreciation as he did so of the twenty-four years of faithful service by the retired Treasurer, I. Thomas Steere.

The theme of the evening was "The Quaker Lawyer," a particularly interesting one in view of the testimony which Friends have held against going to law with each other, and the disinclination which individual Friends have sometimes had, particularly in the early part of the last century, to go into the law at all.

Hubert R. Taylor, of Philadelphia and Cheltenham, reviewed the legal training and careers of prominent early Pennsylvania Friends, from William Penn, David Lloyd, James Logan, and John Kinsey, to Nicholas Waln, and added a twentieth-century postscript to the effect that he felt that fewer young Friends now seemed to be preparing for the law than was the case in the past generation, when law and business attracted a considerable number of Friends, particularly in the Philadelphia neighborhood.

William Taylor, Jr., of Media, spoke on the subject, "A Quaker Lawyer Defends the Law," addressing himself to current conceptions and misconceptions of the nature of law, of evidence, and of justice, and reminding Friends that the law, while less desirable than love as a rule for getting along with each other, is better than violence and war, which are the last alternatives men seek when both love and law break down.

The flowers which decorated the tables, arranged as at previous dinners by Dorothy G. Harris, of the Friends Historical Library

at Swarthmore, were particularly beautiful this year, a cheering welcome to Friends coming in out of a murky winter night.

AT THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS on Tenth Month 10, 1947, annual membership dues of the Association were raised from $2.00 to $3.00 in order to meet the rising costs of printing and entertainment. At the meeting on First Month 9, 1948, the following memorial minute for William Wade Hinshaw was adopted:

> The Board of Directors of Friends Historical Association records with sorrow the passing of William Wade Hinshaw, a Life Member of the Association. All Friends interested in historical and genealogical research are indebted to him for his tireless work in compiling the five volumes of his great *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy.* Few of our members have had the vision to conceive and the energy to launch an undertaking of such vast scope. We are glad to hear of the prospect that some of the materials upon which our Friend was working at the time of his death may be published.

THE VISIT of Muriel A. Hicks, Assistant Librarian at Friends House in London, and her attendance at the Annual Meeting and two meetings of the Board of Directors, served to strengthen the ties of mutual interest between Friends Historical Association in this country and Friends' Historical Society in England. Our own Association was likewise honored by the election of one of our members, Henry J. Cadbury, as President of Friends' Historical Society for 1947. His presidential address, "Answering That of God," which he delivered in London on Seventh Month 3rd, is printed in *The Journal of Friends' Historical Society,* XXXIX (1947), 3-14. It is a thoughtful study of the central principle of Friends as seen in some of their early writings and activities. Other articles of special interest in this number of the *Journal* are a study of "Norfolk Friends' Care of Their Poor, 1700-1850," by Muriel F. Lloyd Prichard; "Quakerism in Friedrichstadt, 1663-1724," by Anna Corder; and "Bulgarian Relief Work in the Seventies," by William K. Sessions. Russell S. Mortimer also contributes an interesting review of three recent manuscript studies of English Quaker education.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER to WILLIAM J. ALLINSON

Nineteen unpublished letters from the Quaker poet to his friend in Burlington, New Jersey.

Edited by Edward D. Snyder*

The Haverford College Library has recently been given a notebook containing manuscript copies of nineteen letters from the poet Whittier to his close friend William J. Allinson of Burlington, New Jersey.

The gift comes to the College through Margaret Taylor MacIntosh, a granddaughter of William J. Allinson, who had it from another granddaughter, Elizabeth Allen Carey. Mrs. Carey's mother was Mr. Allinson's oldest daughter, and the notebook has been in the possession of that branch of the family ever since the letters were copied into it by an amanuensis now unknown. This amanuensis was at times so hasty that it has been necessary to edit the letters, correcting many annoying slips of spelling and punctuation and extending abbreviations. In most cases this is done without note, but when there is any doubt about the extension of an abbreviation, square brackets are used to indicate the editor's conjecture.

William James Allinson (1810-1874), the son of James and Bernice Allinson, was born in Philadelphia but spent most of his life in Burlington, New Jersey. The death of his father in 1811 created a difficult financial situation, and young Allinson was apprenticed to William Scattergood from 1815-1831. After that he was established for himself in the drug business.

He early showed unusual ability at writing, both verse and more especially prose; during the last half of his life his work as a druggist was overshadowed by his varied activities as a successful man of letters. His lectures on religious topics were justly popular and enjoyed a wide circulation as pamphlets and in book form. His literary labors in many fields, along with his strong Quaker interests, culminated in his holding for many years the responsible position of editor of *Friends' Review.*

* Dr. Snyder is Professor of English at Haverford College.

Of Allinson's intimacy with Whittier these letters speak for themselves, but the curious reader will do well to examine also another unique volume in the Haverford College Library, Allinson's Whittier Poetry Scrapbook, an extra-illustrated volume of Whittier's poems.

Letter No. I

Amesbury 13th 8th Mo. 1842

Dear William,

Thy letter, with Elizabeth N[icholson]'s[1] addition, has just come to hand and I am pleased to learn from it that thee think of making a flying visit to N[ew] England. I am now at home sick or nearly so and shall not be away of course and shall be most happy to welcome thee to our cottage home. If we have time, as I trust we may, we will visit the *old farm* in Haverhill just over the Amesbury line, especially as E[lizabeth] N[icholson] wishes to know whether it is a "ruin" or not.

My sister joins with me in the hope that thou wilt not disappoint us in this visit.

If E[lizabeth] N[icholson] is still in Burlington, remember us kindly to her, as also thy "ain dear wife" and aunts. In haste as ever

thy affectionate

J. G. Whittier.

At Boston, thou wilt take the Eastern R. R. cars for Newberryport, from whence a stage runs for this place twice a day — viz.,. on the arrival of the noon, and last trains.

Letter No. II

Amesbury 11 mo 19 1842

My dear William,

Thy kind letters, though to this day unanswered, have been read and reread with pleasure and we especially thank thee for *thy* "New England Legend" and for thy splendid lines on duelling. We — or perhaps I should say Elizabeth — had a half defined notion of visiting Philadelphia and being present at cousin Margaret's[2] solemn immolation on the altar of Matrimony; but as that is all over now I shall delay no longer to

[1] For details of the poet's friendship with this brilliant Philadelphia Quakeress and her close friend Elizabeth Lloyd, both mentioned frequently in these letters, see my article in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXII (1938), 142ff. and the many references there given; also *Elizabeth Lloyd and the Whittiers,* edited by Thomas Franklin Currier (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939).

[2] Margaret Wendell, who married Elisha Maule. See also Letter X.

acknowledge thy favors and to thank thee for them. I should have enjoyed greatly the warmth and beauty of your autumnal season, which holds winter at arm's length some weeks after the grim Frost King has established his desolate sway over this region. Yet this has been with us an uncommonly fine autumn; and even at this late date, we have had no snow, and but few frosts hard enough to freeze the ground. Our "Indian Summer" so beautifully described by *Bryant*—

> And now, when comes the calm mild day, as still such days will come,
> To call the squirrel and the bee from out their winter home;
> When the sound of dropping nuts is heard, though all the trees are still,
> And twinkle in the smoky light the waters of the rill.[3]

has been a remarkable one — at least ten days of soft, warm sunshine, a gentle breeze from the Southwest — the sun at its rising and going down, glowing rayless — "with disc like battle-target red, " through the hazy atmosphere. I lived more — enjoyed more — in that brief period than I ordinarily do in three months of winter.

I suppose thou hast heard of our Slave case[4] here in Boston. It is the first which has transpired for the last three years, and has created an intense interest throughout the State. So powerful was the feeling in his favor that I feared a tremendous outbreak would follow any attempt to convey him away. I have just learned that the Slave-hunter and his vile lawyer have abandoned their victim. But the affair has created an excitement which we shall improve for the purpose of securing the passage by our next Legislature of laws prohibiting, under severe penalties, any of our citizens or our state or municipal officers from aiding in any way the despicable man-hunters in reclaiming their runaway human property.

What a loss to us — to the Country — the world even — is the death of Dr. Channing![5] Where has he left his equal? Bigots will think of him only as a heretic Unitarian; but the pure, the wise, the good, the truly Christian will love to linger upon his memory as that of a man who, like his Divine Master, went about doing good, full of love to God and love to man — an eloquent apostle of the Philanthropy of the Gospel. Hast thou read his last glorious effort, his dying testimony in behalf of freedom? The echoes of that holy utterance will never die among our mountains. They speak like Valerio's "to time to eternity." I shall send thee, as soon as I can obtain a copy, John Pierpont's sermon on his death.

Our election is just over. The choice of Governor. Our Liberty vote

[3] From "The Death of the Flowers," by William Cullen Bryant. Misquotations in MS. have been corrected.

[4] The case of George Latimer, which caused the writing, reading, and publication of the anonymous poem "Massachusetts to Virginia"; Whittier's authorship was easily recognized because, people said, he was the only person in the world capable of writing it.

[5] William Ellery Channing (1780-1842).

last year was 35,000. This year nearly 7000.[6] In this Congressional district there is no choice. Liberty vote from 1000 to 1200. In this town the vote for the Liberty Congressional Candidate was 109. In Salisbury 75. West Newberry 98. It will probably increase at the next [illegible]. We are getting to act together in harmony. Old and new organizationists — and the cause in all respects never stood so well as it does at the present time. Did I send thee a copy of "Fallen" from *Democratic Review*? In the number for December is a piece "Raphael"[7] which I think thee would like. I am now looking over a Review of Webster's letter in reply to Bocanegra, the Mexican Minister, which we are about to publish; unfolding the designs of the Slave-Power in relation to Texas. This and several other matters of the kind have prevented me from giving much attention to literary matters.

A thousand thanks for thy picture of the dear old Homestead, which we have received by mail. It is a good sketch. I covered up the line beneath and mother and aunt knew it at once. Elizabeth will prize it very highly. It will at all events recall the memory of our pleasant ride to the old place last summer, and be a grateful memento of my Burlington friend.

Has thee seen any of our Philadelphia friends recently? I received a letter from Ann[8] not long since, the first part of which seems to have been written while suffering under severe illness, but the conclusion was cheerful and hopeful, indicating a better state of health. Ann has, I fear, too much of a self-accusing spirit. She sees the good in others much sooner than in herself. Elizabeth Lloyd[9] and Elizabeth Nicholson — have thee seen them of late? When thee see them, tell them that they are kindly remembered on the banks of the Merrimac.

What does thee think of Dickens' book? I have been reading it with infinite satisfaction. His good nature, outgushing philanthropy, quaint, calm humor, and marvellous skill at description delight me. He makes, as all travellers must, some few mistakes, but the book on the whole is excellent. What a scorching chapter is his on Slavery![10]

We have our annual *Thanksgiving* on Fifth day next, specially ordered by the Governor and Council of the old Bay State. It doesn't take quite so strong hold of "Friends" as of others but even *they* feel its contagious

[6] The MS. is garbled.

[7] Whittier's poem "Raphael" may be found in *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier,* Cambridge edition (Boston, 1894), p. 387.

[8] Ann Elizabeth Wendell, Whittier's invalid cousin, and sister of Margaret Wendell (Maule). For detailed facts of her life and for a long series of Whittier's letters to her, see my article in the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* 29 (1940), 69-92.

[9] See note 1.

[10] The reference is to Chapter 17 of Dickens' *American Notes.*

influence more or less. There is an awful massacre of fat turkeys and ducks and chickens and geese, — acres of pumpkin pie are smoking from the ovens and all sorts of preparations are being made for our great Yankee festival — our feast of Tabernacle, our yearly ingathering of scattered households and sundered families. Spite of Quakerism and its ascetic notions, I like this good old custom. It is beautiful, full of kindliness and charity and love and good will; and were I Governor I would have half a dozen of these days instead of one.

Speaking of Quakerism, the papers, the political ones, tell sad stories of the way in which the Yearly Meeting of Indiana were humbugged and flattered into an abandonment of their principles by Henry Clay, who happened to be in Richmond at the time of the Yearly Meeting. They say that large numbers of them listened to his address on Slavery against the abolitionists and expressed their hearty concurrence in his views, and in the Yearly Meeting against such of their members as signed the request to him to emancipate his slaves! Now if this all be true, I wash my hands of *such* Quakerism. It is neither more nor less than political knavery in drab and broad brim; and to suppose that such conduct is dictated by the same spirit which animated and moved the Woolmans, Benezets, P[embertons], and Browns of the past time, is one of the saddest delusions of the Devil. The longer I live, the more I see of my own weakness, and the more clearly I scrutinize the conduct of fallible human beings, in their association of Church and State, the more deeply do I feel the importance of the injunction to ******* from man.[11]

How is thy Rebecca and thy "bit bairn"? I see no reason why you shouldn't be as happy as it is possible for human beings to be. Bachelor as I am, I can nevertheless see and, in some degree, appreciate the superior advantages for happiness enjoyed by my married friends — all the drawbacks of household perplexities, crying babies, and curtain lectures to the contrary, notwithstanding.

If thee sees Dr. C. Wistar thank him from me for his philanthropic and self-denying proposition in *The Friend* relative to the colored people. His brother Thomas also has evinced a good degree of the old Quaker Spirit in his journey to Ohio to seek out the devoted martyr Wattles. God bless him for so doing.[12]

[11] MS. illegible.

[12] Caspar Wistar (1801-1867) was a son of Thomas and Mary Wistar. His brother Thomas Wistar II (1798-1876) was more famous. See, for example, Rayner Wickersham Kelsey's *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917); *The Pennsylvania Magazine* IV (1880), 430; and *Quaker Biographies,* Series 2, Vol. II (Philadelphia, n. d.), 27-71. Thomas Wistar's MS. Journal and Letterbook, now in the Haverford College Library, contains, pp. 13ff., an interesting account of his visit to the Negro Mission established by Augustus Wattles. For further information about Wattles, see *Report to the Trustees of the Emlen Institution for the Education of Children of African or Indian Descent* (Philadelphia, 1842).

By the bye, hast thou heard of Mr. Wattles? I hope his life may be spared; there are so few willing or indeed able to take his place. Remember me to thy Aunts and to their Brother, to Ann, the Webbs[13] in Philadelphia, and all enquiring friends, and believe me very sincerely thy friend

John G. Whittier.

Sister Elizabeth, my mother and Aunt all desire to be remembered to thee.

Letter No. III

Amesbury 11th mo 10. 46[14]

My dear William,

I hasten to thank thee for thy kind interest in my welfare and to assure thee that the injury sustained by the accident was trifling. I took pains to have it kept from the papers but it unfortunately got in, in spite of me. It occasioned me some pain but is now well. The shot did not penetrate the bone but glanced on it and passed out. I happened to stoop to pick up something at the moment and the heavy part of the charge passed over me. It was certainly a narrow escape and furnished occasion for gratitude and thankful acknowledgement of renewed obligation to Infinite Goodness in sparing an unfaithful servant yet a little longer.

I was glad to hear from thee and thy dear wife and aunts — and also from the venerable John Cox[15] — Do remember me most affectionately to him; and tell him I shall never forget his kind words of sympathy and encouragement in the cause in which I was engaged when in your part of the country. I am very sorry I could not see him when I was at Burlington last winter.

I enclose thee some autographs and a note from the ever-to-be-remembered Clarkson[16] to his friend, the last work of his pen, which he did for the Philadelphia [Antislavery] Fair. Please hand them to Elizabeth Nich-

[13] The Webbs are probably the family of Samuel Webb, Philadelphia Quaker and abolitionist, who wrote *The History of Pennsylvania Hall* (Philadelphia, 1838).

[14] The month number is blurred in the MS. but 10th mo. or 11th mo. may be conjectured from internal evidence in the first paragraph.

[15] John Cox, who lived at "Oxmead," near Burlington, was an Orthodox Quaker minister, beloved by both Orthodox and Hicksite Friends. He died April 5, 1847, in his ninety-fourth year.

[16] Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846), one of the most influential of English abolitionists, of whom the *Dictionary of National Biography* says, "it is almost impossible to overrate the effect of his unceasing perseverance in the cause."

olson — agreeably to Joseph Sturge's[17] request.

I have been rather more than usually unwell this fall; and at this moment am scarcely able to write a long letter. My Sister's health is also very poor. She and mother desire to be affectionately remembered. Please say a kind word for me to all who are our mutual friends and believe me as ever—.

J. G. W.

Letter No. IV

Amesbury 2nd 3rd mo 49

Dear William,

If thou hast read Macaulay's *History*,[18] thou hast doubtless been pained by the studied effect of the author to reverse the decision of nearly two centuries with respect to William Penn and to represent him as a weak, vain sycophant; i. e., the tool of a cruel tyrant. It is important for the truth's sake that this calumny should be met fully and decidedly and put down, as I think it can be.

Who will do it? Enoch Lewis?[19] It will require a great amount of reading and laborious research; and to be read it must be presented in a garb as attractive, if possible, as the pen of Macaulay has made the libel.

I almost felt myself like undertaking it, but I have no access here to books and documents, and my health is not equal to any serious effort. If answered at all, it must be done thoroughly — mere contradiction and abuse of the historian will not answer — the facts must be presented plainly, clearly, impartially. If there *is* anything indefensible in William Penn's connexion with James II, it must be frankly admitted and the

[17] Joseph Sturge (1793-1859), distinguished English Quaker philanthropist and radical abolitionist, toured the United States in 1841 with Whittier as his companion; subsequently he published *A Visit to the United States in 1841* (London, 1842). The Haverford College Library has two copies of this book, of which one, by a happy coincidence, was a presentation copy autographed by the author and the other was the property of William J. Allinson himself. For another association item, see Whittier's poem "In Remembrance of Joseph Sturge," Cambridge edition, p. 199.

[18] Letters IV and V, dealing almost exclusively with the calumny on William Penn by the historian Macaulay, lead into a controversy where the available literature is far too extensive to be listed here. We may note, however, that Whittier published in the *National Era* for April 5, 1849, a counter-attack subsequently included in his prose works under the title of "England under James II." For another counter-attack on Macaulay, see Letter XVI and note 40.

[19] Enoch Lewis (1776-1856) was an influential Pennsylvania Quaker for some time teacher of mathematics at Westtown School. See *A Memoir of Enoch Lewis* by his son, Joseph J. Lewis (West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1882) and Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (London, 1867, 2 vols.), II, 207-208.

proper apology for it given. By the bye, the character of James II is as deeply misrepresented, I think, as is William Penn's. Do talk with thy brother, Samuel Rhoads,[20] and Enoch Lewis about it. My best love and that of my mother and sister to thee and thine. Remember me kindly to dear Stephen Grellet[21] and to all enquiring friends.

Affectionately,
John G. Whittier.

Letter No. V

Amesbury 18 3rd mo 1849

My dear William,

I have to thank thee for two letters in answer to my note and for the interest thee manifested in the matter upon which I consulted thee. I was exceedingly pleased with thy brother's views — and it has seemed to me that he would be a suitable person in connection with E[noch] Lewis to investigate the matter, and set it right. He writes, I have always noticed, with a force and vigor which may go far to atone for the lack of some of the graces and ornaments of rhetoric; as for myself, I fear it is not in my power to do anything just now. I have been unable to read or write at all most of the time for the last six weeks and now see no prospect of amendment save in absolute rest. If I can, I shall write for the *Era* a brief article on the 3rd volume of Macaulay, vindicating, as I believe truth requires, William Penn. I am sorry to hear that the health of Enoch Lewis is so feeble. Nothing could give me more pleasure than to be able to look over this whole matter with him and thyself and brother; but I am not now able to read a page without suffering, and writing is especially irksome.

I enclose for thee a notice of Macaulay from the pen of C[harles] Sumner, as I believe; the *Unitarian Christian Examiner* briefly defends Penn from the charges of Macaulay.

I am truly sorry to hear of thy illness and hope thou didst not exert thyself too much in writing to me.

Thou will infer from what I have already said that it is not in my power at present to do anything requiring study and labor. I leave the matter reluctantly; if Providence permits, I may one day take it up in earnest.

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[20] Samuel Rhoads (1806-1868), Philadelphia Quaker and abolitionist, was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association, which tried to prevent the purchase of the products of slave labor; he edited *The Non-Slaveholder* and *Friends' Review*.

[21] Stephen Grellet (1773-1855), minister of Burlington, New Jersey. "This Franco-American was perhaps the most influential Quaker minister and missionary of the last two centuries." — from p.vii of *Stephen Grellet* (New York, 1942) by William Wistar Comfort.

The truth is what we want. If the character of William Penn will not abide the test of investigation, let it fall —

I thank thee for thy kind offers of house and home. With affectionate remembrance to thy household and our mutual friends —

J. G. W.

Why cannot E[noch] Lewis take up the matter in the *Review*? He can do it justice if anyone can and there are others who would assist in ascertaining facts. I think he would do well to write to Macaulay through J[oseph] Pease[22] agreeably to thy suggestion. Why not write thyself to J. Pease?

Letter No. VI

Amesbury 16 3rd Mo. 1853

Dear friend,

I am glad to see that thou hast undertaken to continue *The Non-Slaveholder*,[23] believing as I do that such a paper is needed. It touches a point of especial interest to the religious society with which we are connected — and in inculcating the particular duty of abstinence from the products of an oppressive system, it leads us also to enquire more closely of ourselves how far in our business, our habits of living, and in our general intercourse with our fellow men we are directly or indirectly giving aid or countenance to other evils and other forms of oppression.

I was pleased to see in thy first number a notice of Mary Murray's History.[24] I have carefully looked over the book and fully concur in the favorable estimate of it which Judge Jay has so well expressed. It ought to be introduced into all Friends' Schools, and I should be glad to see it in all others.

We remember with pleasure the little visit of Samuel and thyself at our place last summer although I was quite too ill to make your visit pleasant, I fear. I have, I think, felt stronger this winter although still unable to write without a great deal of suffering.

My Sister and Mother desire their love to thee and thy family, and as respects the latter I too would unite with them, and assure thee that I am as ever thy

Affectionate friend

John G. Whittier.

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[22] Joseph Pease (1799-1872), the first Quaker to be a member of Parliament, was an influential mine-owner and philanthropist. Interesting facts about him and about other members of his distinguished family may be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography, s. v. Pease, Edward.*

[23] *The Non-Slaveholder* had been running for five years and then had lapsed for one. William J. Allinson took the responsibility of being the new editor.

[24] *History of the United States of America written in accordance with the principles of peace* (Boston, 1852).

Letter No. VII

Amesbury 30th of [9]th Mo. 1853

My dear friend,

Enclosed are $2 for eight copies of *The Non-Slaveholder* to be directed as follows commencing with the number for the 9th month

Eliphalet Barnard
Phillip Jones
Moses Huntington, Jr.
David Challis
Josiah D. Challis
Merton Elliott
Jona. Beede
John G. Whittier

I hope thou wilt be encouraged to persevere in thy good work.

I regretted that I was unable to see our English Friends when they arrived in Boston.[25]

I understand they brought with them two or three large packages of books and pamphlets, and I have been afraid the distribution of them in the Southern States might seriously affect the success of their mission. I do not know as they intend to circulate A[nti]-S[lavery] tracts or books there, but if such is their prospect, looking at it from my point of view, I am fearful they will meet difficulty. If thou hast occasion to write them, I wish thee would offer a word of caution in this matter. After all if, as we believe, they are rightly engaged here in the Divine Master's service, perhaps we cannot do better than to leave them to His counsel and direction.

My Mother and Sister join me in love to thee and thy family.

Ever and Affectionately
thy friend
John G. Whittier.

[25] The English Quakers were William Forster, Josiah Forster, John Candler, and William Holmes, bearers of an *Address on Slavery and the Slave Trade* which London Yearly Meeting had appointed them to present to the President, State Governors, and others in authority. Contrary to Whittier's fears, expressed above, they met with no violence, although William Forster died of natural causes while in Tennessee.

Letter No. VIII

Amesbury 1. 20. 1856

My dear William,

Thy letter informing me of the passing onward to eternal rest, of our friend Stephen Grellet was duly received.

The loss of such a man seems to be very sad; the world seems darker for the withdrawal of such a light. But, wherever he is, in the universe of our Heavenly Father, he is the true and loving spirit; his work of love continue the same, only freed from the interruptions of bodily weakness and pain. He is Stephen Grellet still; and the prayer of my heart is that I may be permitted through infinite mercy, all unworthy as I feel myself to be, to meet him once more where there is no more death.

Let me thank thee (as I suppose is thy due) for a copy of Cortlandt Van Rensselaer's beautiful and worthy tribute to our dear friend.[26] I have read it with great satisfaction. I had thought of writing to the Author to thank him for his labor of love, but I hope thou will assure him of my sincere and hearty appreciation of his tribute.

I think I know how to sympathise with thee in the loss of thy dear Aunt. But she has, I trust, entered on a path where there is no more darkness.

Is dear Richard Mott[27] in Burlington this winter? If so, I desire my loving remembrance to him. I think of him often and always with affectionate interest, and I should esteem it a great privilege to be near him.

Thy brother Samuel is, I hear, again happily married. Remember me most affectionately to him.

Thy dear mother I am glad to hear from; long may she be spared thee — a true mother in Israel. My own mother is feeble, but is able to be about although seldom able to get out to meeting. Elizabeth has had a very severe illness this fall and winter — typhoid fever — and has not fully regained her customary state of health— For myself I can say but little. I am thankful for the ability which is afforded me to do the daily duties which devolve upon me. My kind love to thy R[ebecca] and to thy household, in which my mother joins.

Ever and affectionately
thy friend
J. G. W.

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[26] This is *The Fight, Faith, and Crown: A Discourse, on the Death of Stephen Grellet, with a sketch of his Life and Labours* (Philadelphia, 1856).

[27] The Richard Mott who lived from 1767 to 1856 is doubtless the one referred to here; he was a Quaker minister of Purchase Meeting, New York, and later of Burlington, New Jersey. A number of his MS. letters are in the Haverford College Library, as is also a copy of the pamphlet entitled *A Memorial of Purchase Monthly Meeting, Concerning Richard Mott, Deceased* (New York, 1857).

Letter No. IX

Amesbury 8 Mo 7th 1856

My dear friend William,

I have just seen a notice of the decease of thy excellent aunt Elizabeth[28] in the *Friends' Review,* and it has called up before me the picture of the dear and venerable woman as I remember her in your affectionate household group. What a beautiful example her life presented of Christian patience and cheerful submission to the allotment of Providence! It is sad to think that the outward world was all dark to her — that its pleasant pictures were to her not only strained but obliterated. But the inward light was sufficient to her, a child of that light; she walked in it, and we may trust that she has found that resting place where there is no need of sun or moon, but the Lord God and the Lamb are the light thereof.

What evil times we have fallen upon! My heart bleeds for Kansas, I am grieved at the resort to arms on the part of the free State settlers. Their wrongs have been terrible, but I have no faith in overcoming evil with evil.

Humanly speaking I see no hope save in the election of Frémont, and I trust every *Friend* in New Jersey and Pennsylvania will vote for him as a candidate opposed to Border Ruffianism at home and to Robbery and Piracy according to the Ostend Circular[29] abroad.

Enoch Lewis, Stephen Grellet, and Richard Mott! What a loss our Society has sustained! Who can take their places!

With much love to thy dear household and to thy brother Samuel — Elizabeth unites with me in love

I am affectionately
thy friend
John G. Whittier.

Dost thou know R[ichard] Mendenhall[30] of Kansas? The Friends' School, I see, has been broken up. The Friends in Kansas are deserving of our sympathy in their season of trial and peril. May our Heavenly Father give them wisdom and strength and fortitude. Almost anyone can fight even in a bad cause, but the sublime self-abnegation of martyrdom is rarely found.

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[28] "Blind Aunt Betsey," as she was affectionately known in the Allinson family.

[29] The Ostend Manifesto (1854) had shocked many Americans by advocating the acquisition of Cuba, by force if necessary.

[30] See Cora Dolbee, *Kansas and "The Prairied West" of John G. Whittier* (Salem, Massachusetts, 1946), p. 25, for facts about Richard Mendenhall, the Quaker missionary to Kansas.

Letter No. X

Amesbury 1st Mo 16th 1857

My dear William,

I am always glad to hear from thee and thine. I heartily congratulate thee on the advent of the young gentleman and should be proud to have my name in any way connected through him with the honored one of Allinson. I can only say that I hope the newcomer may prove a better man than his namesake — cultivate his Jersey acres in peace and goodwill and never let himself down to writing poetry.

I think you were quite right in giving the "wee Laddie" an easier child's name than Greenleaf. Tell his dear mother I am much obliged to her for her persistence in the choice of the middle name.[31]

I am truly glad to hear of the labors of the English Friends. It is a work eminently "fit to be done," and I believe great good will grow out of it.

Ann Wendell writes me of Elisha Maule's decease and of Margaret's joining the Baptists.[32] I cannot understand how any Friend can ever see any life in the "beggarly elements."[33] But let each be persuaded in his own mind. In her case it may be for the best.

Thou speaks of our dear friend Elizabeth Lloyd Howell. Hers has indeed been a heavy affliction. I was greatly pleased with her husband and I do not wonder at her sorrow for his loss.

With much love to all thy beloved household and to Samuel I am as ever affectionately thy friend

John G. Whittier.

Letter No. XI

Amesbury 12th of 1 mo 1858

My dear William,

I thank thee for thy very kind letter. All that the Sacred word *Mother* means in its broadest, fullest significance, our dear mother was to us — a friend, helper, counsellor, companion, ever loving, gentle, unselfish. She was spared to us until in her 75th year — and passed away after a sickness of about three weeks in the full possession of her faculties, in exceeding peace and with an unshaken trust in the boundless mercy of our

[31] Francis Greenleaf Allinson (1856-1931), for whom Whittier wrote the poem "My Namesake," (Cambridge edition, p. 393) had a long and brilliant career as a classical scholar. The principal facts are available in the Haverford College *Matriculate Catalog* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 172.

[32] This is Margaret Wendell Maule, mentioned in the first paragraph of Letter II. Her husband died in his thirty-seventh year.

[33] Whittier is referring to *Galatians,* IV, 9: "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?"

Lord. It was a beautiful and holy death-bed; perfect love had cast out all fear. Fervently do I pray that its lesson may not be lost upon us.

With much love to all the members of your family and much sympathy for thy brother I am, as ever

Affectionately thy friend
John G. Whittier.

Excuse the brevity of this letter. I am scarcely fit for writing at all. Dear Sister Elizabeth is nearly overcome with her grief and with the fatigue and sleepless anxiety of the past few weeks. She joins me in love to you.

Letter No. XII

Amesbury 21 of 2 mo 1858

My dear William,

By a paper just received, as I suppose from thee, we have learned of the recent removal of thy dear and excellent mother to a better inheritance.

Our own great loss is so recent that we can truly sympathise with thee in this dispensation and yet so tempered with mercy and the consolation of a blessed hope. Thy dear mother has left a precious and excellent name behind her, and as she rests from her labors her good works follow her — and instead of murmuring at our loss, does it not become us rather to be thankful exceedingly for the blessing of such mothers, spared to us so long and for the priceless memory they have left us?

With much love to thy Rebecca and the household, including the green leaf of the family tree, in which Elizabeth joins, I remain as ever

Affectionately thy friend
John Greenleaf Whittier.

Remembrances kindly to thy dear Brother Samuel.

Dear William,

It is too late for thy repentance — the devil — *Printer's* of course — has got it — and the only thing I can do in thy premise is to give thee the assurance that *I* am satisfied with it — and vouch for the readers of the Book that they will be not only satisfied but *gratified.* I am sorry I do not feel able to see the right.[34]

Very truly thy friend
J. G. W.

[34] The MS. appears to be garbled, but it seems that Allinson had tried in vain to recall something which he had sent to Whittier for publication.

Letter No. XIII

Amesbury 28th 8th mo 1859

My dear William,

I was agreeably surprised the other day to get a nice picture of "My Namesake" — really a very * * * * and, taking the *cane* into consideration a *striking* likeness.

This will be handed thee by William Williamson, who goes tomorrow to the Jersies. He will tell thee how we are.

I hope thee and thy dear wife are well. I felt anxious about her health when I was at Burlington, but H. J. Newbold tells me she is better. Remember me to thy excellent Aunt and to Samuel. Elizabeth sends her love — I enclose a picture of Robert Rantoul.[35] I meant to have got one of J. Coffin[36] but was disappointed in it.

With kind remembrances to all Burlington friends I am as ever

Affectionately thy friend,

J. G. W.

My cousin Sarah Lizzie Whittier will visit Elizabeth Nicholson in the 10th month; I hope thee will see her. She is the best-looking Whittier in the lot, and I am sure thee would like her.

Letter No. XIV

Amesbury 25 9th Mo 1859

Dear friends William and Rebecca Allinson,

I ought long ago to have answered your very kind and very welcome letter, but a multiplicity of cares and a painful affection of the eyes has prevented me from doing justice to my kind correspondents.

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[35] See the *Dictionary of American Biography* for Robert Rantoul (1778-1858). Whittier's poem "Rantoul" (Cambridge edition, p. 193) has the following headnote: "No more fitting inscription could be placed on the tombstone of Robert Rantoul than this: 'He died at his post in Congress. and his last words were a protest in the name of Democracy against the Fugitive-Slave Law.' "

[36] Possibly Joshua Coffin (1792-1864), historian, teacher, and abolitionist; facts of his life are available through the Index of *William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879, the Story of his Life Told by his Children* (New York, 1889). Whittier had done him honor in his poem "To my Old Schoolmaster," (Cambridge edition, pp. 190-192). But it is also possible that Whittier referred to Joseph Coffin, Sr., an elder of Springfield Monthly Meeting, Indiana, who had just died (July 10, 1859) in his eighty-sixth year.

I suppose Dr. Taylor[37] has told thee that we met at Yearly Meeting. It was pleasant to meet him and his friends there. I hope Rebecca's health is better and that my namesake continues to do credit to his *verdant* appellation.

Enclosed is a tribute to the memory of our friend Joseph Sturge. It was published in the New York *Independent.* What a noble list of worthies England and the world have lost! — Elizabeth Fry, Joseph J. Gurney, William Allen, William Forster, Joseph Sturge[38] —Who will fill their places?

Remember me to all the good friends at Burlington and to thy brother Samuel.

Elizabeth sends her love.

Very affectionately thy friend,
John G. Whittier.

Letter No. XV

Amesbury 10th Mo 1859

My dear William,

So then thy dear Aunt has passed away to her rest — gone to join her sisters and the dear friends with whom she was associated in labors of love. For her sake we cannot mourn. I am thankful for the privilege of knowing and loving her.

I am glad to hear of dear Rebecca's improved health. The picture of "My Namesake" came safe to hand. It is a very lifelike one.

I had hoped about this time to make a visit to Philadelphia, but my sister does not feel equal to the effort and I have not just now strength or courage for it alone. I suppose cousin Sarah Lizzie is at Elizabeth Nicholson's at this time.

Let this serve as a mere apology for a letter. I have been too ill to use my pen for some time and find it difficult to answer my accumulated let-

[37] For all essential facts of his life see *Joseph Wright Taylor, Founder of Bryn Mawr College,* by Margaret Taylor MacIntosh (1936, privately printed but available for purchase through the Bryn Mawr College Alumnæ Association). The friendship between Dr. Taylor and Allinson was close. A MS. copy of Dr. Taylor's long and sympathetic memorial tribute to his friend is in the Haverford College Library.

[38] Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), William Allen (1780-1843), William Forster (1784-1854), and Joseph Sturge (1793-1859), all English Quaker reformers of great influence, have their biographies available in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* and lists of their publications in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue.* For Whittier's special intimacy with Joseph Sturge, see note 17.

ters, now I am somewhat better. With much love to thy wife and family and to all our mutual friends in Burlington, I am

As ever thy affectionate friend,
John G. Whittier.

I hear H[annah] L[loyd] Neale[39] is on her way home. I would like much to see her.

Letter No. XVI

Amesbury 26 of 5th mo 1860

My dear friend William Allinson,

I heartily thank thee for thy excellent lecture. It is worthy of the theme and does credit to the writer's head as well as heart.

I believe with thee that Quakerism is vital — a root of life which underlies all that is true in religious experience — or excellent in practical morality, or efficient in reform and philanthropy.

I should have acknowledged the reciept of it earlier but I have been almost out of practice in writing — the painful affection of my head and eyes being so aggravated by the attempt to use my pen that I dread the very sight of it.

I have nearly completed a rambling sort of poem to be read before the Quaker Alumni of Providence School at their meeting next month at Newport.[40] I will try and send thee a copy.

Remember me affectionately to thy Rebecca and family and to all our mutual friends, whom I remember with pleasure always. Elizabeth joins me in love to thee and thine.

Cordially thy friend,
John G. Whittier.

Letter No. XVII

Amesbury 9th Mo 186[3]

My dear friend,

I got thy line last night. I am glad to say a word for thy excellent lectures. I enclose a letter to the Publisher which he can print — after the author's preface or introduction.[41] I am too ill to copy it, but I trust the

[39] Sister of Whittier's close friend, Elizabeth Lloyd Howell.

[40] Whittier's poem "The Quaker Alumni" is to be found on pp. 220-224 of the Cambridge edition. In connection with letters IV and V, note especially his attack on Macaulay in the following lines from this poem:

How vainly he labored to sully with blame
The white bust of Penn, in the niche of his frame!
Self-will is self-wounding, perversity blind:
On himself feel the stain for the Quaker designed!

[41] This prefatory letter by Whittier appears on pp. vii and viii of William J. Allinson's collected lectures, published under the title of *Thoughts about the Right* (Philadelphia, 1863).

proof will be made correct. Just let him have my letter to speak for itself. I think it would be better than a formal introduction, which does not seemed called for. Elizabeth, who has been very feeble for the past year, is near Boston for medical advice. I am not as well myself as last year and not able to write except briefly.

With a great deal of love to Rebecca and the rest of thy family including Greenleaf, I am as ever

thy affectionate friend,

J. G. Whittier.

Letter No. XVIII

Amesbury 21st 6th Mo. 1865

My dear friend William J. Allinson,

I have read with great satisfaction the lines of my dear young friend thy daughter. They not only indicate an uncommon poetic taste but they actually evince it. There are fine verses and lines, and the whole poem has the religious solemnity and dignity which befits the subject. Yet I do not feel at *liberty* to offer it to "The Atlantic" having heretofore offered some few poems sent me by friends to no effect, and having been even requested not to do it. I am only an occasional contributor, and of course have no claim to meddle with the editor's duties. The poem itself lacks the *finish* for which practice and experience and much painstaking are required, etc. I hope the young author will not feel discouraged by this remark, but will cultivate her beautiful gift — assured of my sympathy and best wishes. In saying that it is unequal and lacking in finish, I do not wish to be understood as regarding it unsuited for publication. On the contrary, I hope to see it in print in some form or other, as it is far better than many of the tributes already published.

I recognize thy hand in the *Review* and always with pleasure. I hope thou wilt continue to enliven our journal.

I think often of my old friends, sitting here as it were alone — the passing on of so many makes the remaining ones more dear. I am as ever very truly thy friend,

John G. Whittier.

Letter No. XIX

Amesbury 4th mo 1. 1873

My dear friend William J. Allinson,

I hoped that ere this I might have the pleasure of looking in upon thee, but the days and weeks go on, — and I do not find myself equal to the effort, yet I still hope that I may be stronger as the spring advances. My principal trouble is weakness and pain in my left side often accompanied with difficulty of breathing and great prostration of strength, dizziness, and pain in the head. At times *any* effort of body or mind seems

impossible and the excitement and fatigue of travel I do not feel able to encounter. So I must wait and resign myself to the All-Wise Providence, which knows what is best for me and doeth all things well. I shall try to get to Boston this week and if I feel able shall go to Joseph Cartland's[42] for a few days.

I have seen but little company this winter and spring. I have been able to get to meeting a great part of the time. I spent a fortnight in Boston at Governor Claflin's[43] and attended our little meeting there composed of some 30 or 40 persons, Friends and Friendly connected.

How is thy health now? I have not heard since thy dear good Rebecca wrote. I think of you both often and with much love and sympathy.

Have thee seen Bayard Taylor's poem of "Lars"?[44] It is really the nearest approach to a Christian pastoral poem that I know of. Very simple, gentle, and tender. I must send a copy to thy Greenleaf or his Mother, but I would much rather bring it myself.

Are thee not cheered by the Geneva Arbitration[45] — the peaceful settlement of such serious difficulties! There is a sad amount of evil in the world, but now and then a great good comes up and makes us feel with George Fox that the Ocean of Light and Love will yet overflow the ocean of darkness and death.

With love to all, I am affectionately thy friend of many years,

John G. Whittier.

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[42] For details of Whittier's long friendship with Joseph Cartland and his wife, Gertrude Whittier, the poet's cousin, consult the Index of Pickard's *Life*. For the special connection with Haverford College, see my article in the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* 25 (1936), 7.

[43] Governor William Claflin (1818-1905), of Massachusetts, frequently entertained Whittier for long periods of time. The facts of their friendship are best found in the self-effacing volume written by Governor Claflin's second wife, Mary, and entitled *Personal Recollections of John G. Whittier* (New York, 1893).

[44] When "Lars" was printed in Bayard Taylor's collected poems, it was preceded by a twenty-five line dedicatory poem to Whittier.

[45] The Geneva Arbitration was especially successful in clearing up disputes arising over depredations on Northern commerce by the Confederate raider *Alabama*.

A BIOGRAPHY of Francis Jacob Brown (1850-1929) has been written by his daughter, Edith B. McGinnis and is published under the title of *The Promised Land.* Francis J. Brown was one of the Quaker pioneer settlers at Estacado, Texas, and was the founder of the town of Friendswood. This book was privately printed in 1947 and may be obtained for $3.50 from the author at Boerne, Texas.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

George B. Burnet, Guthrie Parish Manse, Cowdenheath, Fife, Scotland. *Rise, Progress and Decline of the Quaker Movement in Scotland, 1650-1850.* University of Glasgow; thesis for Ph. D. degree, 1937. Typescript copy in the University of Glasgow Library.

William A. Christian, 148 Crescent Street, Northampton, Massachusetts. *A Study of John Woolman's Thought.* (Three important motifs in Woolman's thought and their relation to his intellectual and religious heritage.) Manuscript completed.

Wilmer A. Cooper, 768 College Avenue, Haverford, Pennsylvania. *Quakers and Politics.* (A brief study in the ethics and politics of Quakers, especially as related to the problem of compromise.) Haverford College; Philosophy, thesis for M. A. degree, 1948. Completed.

John S. Downing, Jr., Box 207, East Jordan, Michigan. *Whittier — Nineteenth Century Exponent of Quaker Thought and Philosophy.* (A critical study of his works to show Quaker influences throughout all his writings.) Michigan State College; English, thesis for M. A. degree, 1949. Research commenced.

LeRoy G. Ferguson, 426 Morrill Hall, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. *The Quakers in American Politics.* (Indian affairs, antislavery, the peace movement, prison reform, care of the insane, temperance, women's rights, political theory of Quakerism, etc.) Ohio State University; Political Science, thesis for Ph. D. degree, 1947.

Helen Earle Gilbert (Mrs. Charles C. Sellers), Hebron, Connecticut. *Prudence Crandall, A Biography.* Research commenced and publication planned in 1949.

Harry Harrison, 29 Elm Street, Worcester 8, Massachusetts. *One Hundredth Anniversary of Worcester Meeting.* (A paper prepared and read for the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Wor-

cester Meeting, Massachusetts, held in October, 1947.) Completed. A copy has been deposited in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library.

Helen G. Hole, 712 National Road West, Richmond, Indiana. *John Greenleaf Whittier.* (A biography concerned particularly with his religious life.) Research partially completed.

Robert J. Leach, Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. *Colonial Quaker Nantucket, 1661-1763.* (This covers a longer period than the study previously reported.) About two-thirds completed.

Margaret McHenry, Oreland, Pennsylvania. *Lucretia Was Moved.* (A biography of Lucretia Mott written from the viewpoint of a person who was strenuously living her religion.) Research commenced.

T. Joseph Pickvance, c/o Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29, England. *Quaker Mysticism.* (Fox's mysticism, type and origin of his prayer-life; mysticism of Meeting for Worship; deepening of spiritual life of modern Quakers through linking up with the mystical tradition.) Research commenced.

Sister Agnes de Sales, St. Joseph Academy, McSherrytown, Pennsylvania. *The Early Education of the Negro in Pennsylvania.* (This study will cover the period from 1688 to about 1835.) Catholic University; History, thesis for M. A. degree. Research commenced.

Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. *Dr. George Logan.* (Deals with the subject as a scientific agriculturist, Jeffersonian politician, and private ambassador to France at the time of the undeclared Franco-American Naval War of 1798-9.) Research commenced.

James Harvey Young, Department of History, Emory University, Georgia. *Biography of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson.* (Study of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson and her relationships with reform and cultural movements, 1860-1890. Previously listed in this BULLETIN was another work by the same author on Anna Elizabeth Dickinson and her activities during the Civil War.) Research almost completed.

"THE SOCIETY Called Friends" in England today is described in *Future,* Number II (London, 1947), pp. 22-29. The article first gives a summary of Quaker history and then tells something of the activities of present-day members of the Religious Society of Friends. It is handsomely illustrated with pictures of the work of Friends Relief Service and the Friends Ambulance Unit, and portraits of Wilfrid Littleboy, B. Seebohm Rowntree, Laurence J. Cadbury, W. Maude Brayshaw, and Joan M. Fry.

BOOK REVIEWS

Gulielma: Wife of William Penn, by Lucy Violet Hodgkin (Mrs. John Holdsworth). London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1947. 227 pp. $4.50

ANOTHER book from the pen of Violet Hodgkin must receive a warm welcome. Her *Book of Quaker Saints* has become a classic, revelled in not only by the children for whom it was intended but by adults who value a lovely simplicity in the re-telling of history. Requests for more of the same have come punctually to Violet Holdsworth's secluded desk, and been considered by her, and at first she thought to satisfy them by a book for children about the Penns and Peningtons, inspired by Maria Webb's well-known book of a hundred years ago. But when launching on this project Violet Hodgkin, like all true historians, needed to know the full background against which those interesting lives were lived. The ordinary, rural England of the Stuarts and of the Commonwealth, the pattern of daily life in those far-off times; the ways of city and court; travel, and war. And beyond that, glimpses of the continent of Europe, and its influence, intellectual and political, on the life and thought of England. And beyond that again, the vast new continent across the Ocean Sea, whose mere existence excited men's imagination, and offered adventurous release if life at home became intolerable. The reconstruction of time past along all these various avenues, by means of diaries, letters, and historical documents, both in manuscript and in print, soon convinced Violet Hodgkin that to bring all this to life would require a book not for children, but one in which she could do full justice to adult problems, and could give the reader insight into the psychological and religious and political ferment out of which William Penn finally came to America to found on the shores of the Delaware his Holy Experiment, a colony centered in a City of Brotherly Love.

In this large canvas, Violet Hodgkin chose as the focal point, to give form and design to the whole, the graceful figure of Gulielma Springett, first wife of William Penn. The story of William and Gulielma has long been the best love story in Quaker annals. An unwonted touch of romance comes into Quaker history through the figure of this girl, whom we know not because of her powerful ministry or extensive good works, or any other kind of outstanding ability, but simply for her beauty and her grave grace. Since Gulielma apparently did not keep a journal, and was no great letter-writer, our view of her is almost entirely through the eyes of others; especially through those of the two men who loved her best — Thomas Ellwood, who courted her, and William Penn "for whom she was Reserved." These two lovers of hers have thrown a glamour

about her which time has not dispelled. But to make a whole book about Gulielma would be difficult, since the glimpses of her are few. One sees her as a child in her 'little coach' being drawn about a London park; as a beautiful girl on horseback being rescued from cavalier insult in the country lanes by her sturdy escort, Thomas Ellwood; as a courted heiress "being in all respects a very desirable woman," carrying herself toward her many suitors "with so much Evenness of Temper, such courteous Freedom, guarded with the strictest Modesty" that it roused the admiration of all. And after marriage through her husband's letters, we perceive a wife who was not very good at account-keeping, but whose tenderness toward husband and children filled her home with a warm charm as long as she lived. Her greatest friend among women was Margaret Fell. And a rare letter from Gulielma to Margaret Fell is one of the treasures in the large collection of manuscripts stored in this country in private hands, and not yet available to the public or to research workers.

So, though Violet Hodgkin's book is called *Gulielma* we find that of the six "books" in which it is divided, the first is about Mary, Lady Springett, Gulielma's mother; the second about Isaac Penington, Gulielma's stepfather; the third about Thomas Ellwood, her playfellow; the fifth about William Penn, her husband; and only 'book four' and 'book six' are strictly speaking about Gulielma. Yet the design which puts her in the center is not false. There she is, like a special jewel in a rich and handsome setting.

This is a scholarly book as well as a charming one. Violet Hodgkin's method is to give verbatim — even to the spelling (when she has an original to quote from) — quotations from letters and journals wherever available, and to let her characters tell their own story, or have it told by contemporaries, herself providing the connecting links and necessary background. My only criticism of the book would be that I would like more of Violet Hodgkin in it. Reading her preface, I wanted those pages to continue their easy flow! But we are grateful for what we have, and won't grumble at what we have not. The book as it stands is not only a book for reading, but will be a valuable source for odds and ends of information about the whole period of the rise of Quakerism. Above all else, it recalls the depth and weight and seriousness of the Quaker religious experience in the first generation of believers. All Friends, and many others, will want to possess this book in their libraries to reread and ponder upon, and the benediction of William Penn will surely rest upon its gracious author. "As the Memory of the Just is blessed, so there seems to me a Blessing upon those that have a right Remembrance of them."

JANET WHITNEY

Westtown, Pennsylvania

The Bounds of Delaware, by Dudley Lunt. Wilmington, The Star Publishing Company, 1947. 69 pp. $2.50.

THIS book tells the facts about the most famous and lengthy boundary dispute in American history. It has lasted through four centuries and has involved Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and Delaware. The author gloomily concludes — "on such a record it would be a bold prediction that the end of controversy has been achieved." It is certainly a long and dreary recital of legal quibbling, uncertainties of topography and of granted rights and a persistence on the part of litigants that is remarkable among grown-up and seemingly intelligent men.

Out of the welter of this ancient controversy, begun in 1659, there came to be run out the Mason and Dixon Line of 1760 which is a part of the folklore of America. It is generally thought that this was the end of the matter. But no, the struggle for the control of Delaware River and Bay which was the origin of the trouble, still lingers. The mysterious and controversial 12-mile circle around New Castle which was the center of the dispute, the 40° of longitude so strangely uncertain, the prominence of the persons and regions involved, furnish a continued interest in the struggle over the minutia of legal phrases and definitions that mystifies the layman.

Dutch, Swedes and English were involved and the whole moving picture of men and events is a colorful one not untouched with drama furnished by the principal litigants, William Penn the Quaker and Lord Baltimore the Catholic. To most, Penn is regarded as a benevolent colonizer, who preached lengthy sermons, wrote controversial treatises in prison and made treaties with Indians.

Dudley Lunt, the author of this book, is a Wilmington, Delaware, lawyer, who spent much time recently in London preparing the case of Delaware in the dispute over the boundary of New Jersey which was argued before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1935 and is hoped to be the last echo of this famous (or infamous?) matter.

Mr. Lunt has brought out a trait of Penn's character which shows him a more accomplished statesman than is generally accorded. In his controversy with Lord Baltimore he observed his usual Quaker patience and justice both in his written and personal contacts. But he could not gain all he wanted by persuasion. So says he — "Can my wicked enemies yet bow? They shall, or break, or be broken in pieces before a year from this time comes about, and my true friends rejoice" and again — "If lenitives will not do, coercives must be tried." When Lord Baltimore built a log fort near New Castle and garrisoned it with a small armed force Penn first protested by letter, but in 1684 he issued a proclamation and commissioned one Welch to raise men to defeat the threatened invasion. It was by his persistence and firmness that Penn was able largely to succeed

in his title claims. By his success the Quaker capital of Philadelphia escaped being included in Roman Catholic Maryland.

"I find this place necessary to my Province and yt ye Presence of ye Lord Balt. was agt Law and common. I endeavoured to gett it, and have it, and will keep it if I can" asserted the resolute Penn.

Philadelphia HORACE M. LIPPINCOTT

Dr. Kirkbride and His Mental Hospital, by Earl D. Bond. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947. 163 pp. $3.50.

I REMEMBER distinctly that, as a young man getting my first acquaintance with the Pennsylvania Hospital in West Philadelphia through knowledge of a patient there, I asked why it was always called Kirkbride's. The explanation which fired my imagination is effectively amplified in this book.

It makes for happiness and a more effective life when a man can earn his living at work which in itself brings satisfaction and seems worth doing. Here is an outstanding example of one who had a profession and found it a satisfying though constantly challenging vocation.

Thomas Story Kirkbride was born in Bucks County into a family of Quaker farmers who could give him a good start in life. After his preparatory education he chose to study medicine, first by an apprenticeship in Trenton, then by attending the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. A year as the first house doctor in the Friends Hospital at Frankford started his interest in mental disease. A term at the Pennsylvania Hospital at 8th and Spruce and his early years of general practice in Philadelphia almost made a surgeon of him. When the Pennsylvania Hospital moved its department for the insane from 8th and Spruce to a farm in the country across the Schuylkill, it was not hard to persuade him to become its Medical Director. He was already well and favorably known to many of the board of managers. For over forty years he so dominated the development and management of the Hospital that it and its methods were widely known and respected, and everyone called it Kirkbride's for short.

This book reads so well that one doesn't easily lay it down. The author has painted a striking portrait of a remarkable man. For good measure, he has with a light and skilful touch, using minutes, letters, and records, written a lot of intimate Philadelphia history. We get also a great respect for the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital. They were good men who could find and support and back up a somewhat advanced and pioneering alienist while he developed methods of care and treatment. The "tradition" and atmosphere of the Pennsylvania Hospital cannot be considered or appreciated separately from the continuing stream of wise men on its board.

Ardmore, Pennsylvania LOVETT DEWEES

Travelling with Thomas Story: The Life and Travels of an Eighteenth-Century Quaker, by Emily E. Moore. Letchworth, Hertfordshire, Letchworth Printers Ltd., 1947. 320 pp. $3.00.

THOMAS STORY, whose career stretched from the end of George Fox's to the beginning of John Wesley's, was a figure of importance in the Quakerdom of his own day and remains one of interest to a wider public now. Among Friends, his obvious force of mind and character (his convincement in 1691 meant the end of a promising career as a lawyer) plus his social position (one of his brothers became Dean of Limerick and the Earl of Carlisle had been a schoolfellow) gave him a certain prominence from the first. The ability he developed as a preacher and his usefulness to the Society in the world of affairs increased this prominence in the next two decades till it stood second only to William Penn's and George Whitehead's; and after their deaths Story, though his own work was by then largely over, lived on until 1742 as the pre-eminent Elder Statesman. In the interim he had, as a Quaker minister, traveled to practically all parts of the world where meetings then existed — to Ireland, to Scotland and to Wales, to the Netherlands and Germany as far east as Hamburg, to the West Indies, through the American colonies from Maine to South Carolina and, of course, many times through the length and breadth of England. He had also turned his lawyer's talents to the service of Friends in a variety of ways ranging from help in the affairs of Penn's "Holy Experiment" to energetic championing of the Quaker position in sundry theological controversies — where, as certain internal disputes also suggest, he was sometimes inclined to let a combative streak run away with him. In the long struggle, ending in 1722, to obtain from Parliament a form of affirmation in court fully acceptable to all Quaker consciences, Story played an important role both in securing a united Quaker front on the issue and in utilizing his upper-class connections to overcome threatening opposition in the House of Lords. One cannot help feeling, however, that the real measure of his stature among contemporary Friends is provided by the account of his own conversion in the early pages of the *Journal* — an experience which has some of the incandescence of first generation Quakerism, and in the recording of which his powerful feelings at one point spontaneously overflow into verse.

Beyond the boundaries of denominational history, the most obvious interest to Story's career lies in the years between 1700 and 1714, when he devoted himself to the government of Pennsylvania in a variety of posts, such as Keeper of the Great Seal and member of the Council, which utilized his special talents yet left him free to give most of his time to the Quaker ministry. (There is even a little romantic glamour added by his being the successful rival of James Logan for the hand of Ann Shippen,

daughter of the first mayor and most substantial citizen of early Philadelphia.) Less obvious but perhaps more interesting is the way his biography from time to time opens a near by window on some aspect of the life of his time where the ordinary historical works give us only a distant view. He is one of the first, for instance, to give an independent account of the early Methodists; and his activities in forestry on his estate and his reflections on geology give an example of that combination of speculative thinking and practical enterprise which flourished in the leisured classes of the eighteenth century. Still another sidelight on history is cast by Thomas Story's meeting with Peter the Great in 1697, when the Czar was staying incognito in London and Story went with Robert Barclay's brother-in-law to try and acquaint him with the basic principles of Quakerism. The meeting, as described by Story with unusual fullness and circumstantial detail, was rich in the dramatic element, quite aside from the light shed for the historian on a figure who, like more than one of his successors, was something of an enigma to the Western world. There was, on Story's part, a natural curiosity about this personage whom no Quaker had yet seen (subsequently the Czar attended Quaker meetings in Gracechurch Street and at Deptford and, years later, in a North German town which his troops were occupying) but, coupled with this, a good-mannered reluctance to appear pushing or to make a misstep in the delicate matter of the Czar's incognito; similarly, there was a lively sense of the Czar's exalted station and political importance, but at the same time a resolute adherence to the Quaker principle of paying no man the special deference of the bow or the doffed hat. The resulting tension is sustained in Story's admirable account up to the moment of the interview's successful conclusion when Story learns that, as he had suspected, it was indeed the Czar they had been talking to. One more type of interest attaching to Story's career lies in the travel literature it incidentally provides. His accounts of places on this side of the Atlantic probably have a higher value than his pictures of British scenes — partly because there are so many other sources of information available on the British Isles at this period, and partly because, away from home he naturally found more specific details whose unfamiliarity made them seem worth mentioning. He is perhaps at his best in describing the voyage from Jamaica to Pennsylvania in 1709, when his ship was captured by a French privateer and the passengers and crew forced to spend some eight weeks in two small ports on the north coast of Haiti and then proceed to Guadeloupe before they could take ship again for Pennsylvania.

The original *Journal,* which was published just two centuries before the present work, is of course by no means the only, or the perfect, source of information on Thomas Story. There are numerous gaps in it, ranging in length from a few months to nearly five years, and things as important as the fact of his marriage are not mentioned at all. On the other hand, various sermons and works of controversy were published during

his lifetime, his correspondence with James Logan in the closing period of his life was edited by Norman Penney two decades ago, and Emily Moore has drawn on a considerable number of letters and similarly relevant material in Friends Library, London, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. But by and large — as she suggests in her foreword — the problem of Thomas Story's biography is one of suitably abridging and adapting the 768 folio pages of the *Journal* itself.

There are, roughly, two ways in which this can be done. One is to assume boldly that the average reader's interest in Thomas Story's career has markedly changed in nature between 1747 and 1947; that Story's hundreds of items about specific meetings visited (and the conditions of health and weather under which he did so), the disciplinary cases he advised on and the points of doctrine he argued about are most of them now food only for the worm and its traditional antagonist, the historian; but that, contrariwise, certain parts of the *Journal* have so maintained their interest as not only to deserve reprinting in full but even, at times, editorial supplementing from other sources. The other method of abridgment is to assume that Story is himself the best guide to the relative importance of the varied aspects of his career, and so simply boil down the *Journal* all around, with a suitable amount of editorial annotation to fill in obvious gaps. On the whole, Emily Moore follows the latter method.

Working within this general framework, she has obviously put a great deal of effort into digging up additional data on Thomas Story's own biographical mysteries (such as the precise date of his birth), on the lives of his family and on those of many of his associates. Though she modestly disclaims scholarly pretensions for her book and avoids footnotes (an avoidance that has its disadvantages as well as its advantages), she has nevertheless put scholars in her debt for some previously unpublished excerpts from letters and legal documents, and has provided a more than usually thorough index. She has also assembled some sixty illustrations, a good many of them pleasing views of English meeting-houses where Story preached or old prints of country houses he is known to have visited. What one does feel the lack of are a few good maps; the only one provided concerns Story's itinerary in the rather restricted area of Wales. Cartographic assistance would be particularly welcome to most readers in following Story's West Indian travels, and some on America would certainly have enabled the author to catch in proof-reading her slip about Story's "arrival on the Pennsylvania coast" in February 1699, when he actually landed on the shores of Chesapeake Bay at the tip of the Williamsburg peninsula and did not reach Pennsylvania till considerably later in the year. It is also irritating in a trivial way, when Story is being paraphrased instead of quoted, to get such expressions as "Bay of Chesapeake," and "Newhaven" for New Haven (just as it is, when he is in Germany, to get "Altena" for Altona); but the whole problem of

identifying particular places is admittedly a most difficult one in an area which has changed as much in two centuries as Story's American terrain from Delaware on north. Emily Moore does succeed in evoking something of that vanished world of village inns, ferries and horseback rides through the forest — a world in which Story left Elizabeth, New Jersey, by boat an hour before midnight and got to New York at four o'clock in the morning — and to do a complete job of identification on Story's enormous American itinerary would perhaps be a task for a research project rather than a single writer.

Since the book has the word "travelling" in the title, there will probably be some tendency to compare it in general readability to two other books published since the war which deal in a first-hand way with early Quaker travels: *Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere* and *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal.* This is a comparison which is the more tempting because Dickinson and his wife were Story's companions in the 1709 voyage from Jamaica to Pennsylvania which resulted in capture by the French, and because Dickinson's *Journal* is the account of the pair's shipwreck and capture by Indians on the Florida coast while making the same journey thirteen years before. But such a comparison is a misleading and unfair one; for the other two books are adventure stories almost pure and simple — frequently in the simplest and most gripping form of man-against-nature — while the phrase "travelling with Thomas Story" is to be taken in much more than the mere geographical sense. To compare them in most of the obvious respects would therefore be like complaining that Story's contemporary, Defoe, provides less suspense in *A Tour Through England and Wales* than he does in *Robinson Crusoe.* The true appeal of Emily Moore's book lies in its ability to communicate the sum total of Thomas Story's character and achievement to a modern reader.

Rufus Jones contributed a brief introduction which makes in passing a stimulating comparison between Thomas Story's verse and Walt Whitman's.

JOSEPH W. MARTIN

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM PENN AND OUR LIBERTIES (Philadelphia, Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, 1947, 146 pp.) is a further good fruit of William W. Comfort's intensive study of William Penn and seventeenth-century Quakerism. Attractively printed and illustrated, written in a pleasing style for the general reader, this new book further emphasizes the significant fact that many of the liberties which the Quaker colonies enjoyed, and which are transmitted through them to the United States as a whole, stemmed directly from Penn's religious principles, the principles of the Society of Friends.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

AN ARTICLE by Richmond P. Miller in *The Journal of Religious Thought,* 4 (1947), 182-89, is entitled "Transmission of Faith Through Quaker Worship," but in fact it deals with a more comprehensive summary of the faith of the Society and its expression, notably in the Queries.

A PASSAGE in a hitherto unpublished letter of Lucretia Mott in 1855 tells of reading Walt Whitman's new book, and is the basis of a note by Frederick B. Tolles in *American Literature,* 19 (1947), 170-71, entitled "A Quaker Reaction to *Leaves of Grass.*"

A SUMMARY of Quaker convictions for transportation to the West Indies under the Conventicle Act of 1664-1667 is included in interesting context on pages 175-180 of Abbot Emerson Smith's *Colonists in Bondage, White Servitude and Convict Labor in America 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

ON ACCOUNT of the importance for Friends of Richmond, Indiana, and Earlham College, the following articles by Chelsea L. Lawlis in Volume 43 of the *Indiana Magazine of History* (1947) deserve mention: "Settlement of the Whitewater Valley, 1790-1810" (pp. 23-40), "The Great Migration and the Whitewater Valley" (pp.125-139), "Migration to the Whitewater Valley, 1820-1830" (pp. 225-239), "Prosperity and Hard Times in the Whitewater Valley, 1830-1840" (pp. 363-378).

A GOOD while ago Bernard Shaw published a play in which George Fox was included in a motley group of actors including Isaac Newton, Charles II and his actress favorite Nell Gwynn. Copies of "In Good King Charles's Golden Days" must have been very scarce in America. In the autumn of 1947, however, Dodd, Mead and Company of New York published this play with other pieces, of which Shaw's *Geneva* gives the key word for the title.

FLORENCE H. BRYAN has written an illustrated biography for children of *Susan B. Anthony, Champion of Women's Rights* (New York, Messner, 1947). The first part at least has important Quaker connections.

A CONSIDERABLE amount of information about the Friends in Virginia before 1727 is found in George M. Brydon's *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions under Which It Grew* (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, 1947), especially the section on pages 191-198.

A *CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY of the Writings of George Aaron Barton* (1859-1942), prepared by Beatrice Allard Brooks, was published in 1947 in the *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies, No. 4 (409 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut). Dr. Barton was a Friend until about 1918, and a teacher at Friends School, Providence, and at Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges. The publications listed are in the field of Biblical and Oriental History and Religion.

PAUL L. WHITELY has written "A History of Friends in Lancaster County" in Pennsylvania, which was published with illustrations in *Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society,* 51 (1947), 1-33. Most of the meetings belonged to the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, both Orthodox and Hicksite, and their common predecessor, but some had out-of-state connections and there were several meetings of Primitive Friends. The article deals briefly with each meeting and discusses also prominent Friends or Friendly families in the county, antislavery and other activities and is in fact a careful and comprehensive collection of data.

JANE RODMAN has published in *Indiana Magazine of History,* 43 (1947), 329-368, an account of "The English Settlement in Southern Illinois, 1815-1828." The leader of the movement was Morris Birkbeck, the son of an eminent (not emigrant! p. 334) Quaker preacher in England, who is also well-known as a bibliographer of Quakeriana. The son gave up his Quaker garb and practices and was one of the active promoters of a colony for English farmers.

NEBRASKA HISTORY has published the Diary of Dr. Joseph A. Paxson from July 1, 1869 to June 1, 1870, describing his life at the Agency to the Winnebago Indians. Joseph A. Paxson (1842-1888) was of Quaker origin, his family having transplanted itself from Bucks County, England, (Upperside Monthly Meeting) to Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Middletown Monthly Meeting). He taught in Friends' schools while studying for his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania and immediately thereafter spent a year as agent and medicine man in the area assigned to Friends under President Grant's short-lived Indian policy. The Diary is edited by James L. Sellers and published in two instalments (vol. 27, 1946, pp. 143-204, 244-275).

THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN for January 1947 (vol. 10, pp. 75 ff.) has an illustrated article on "The Forten Family," especially James Forten (1766-1842), a pupil of Anthony Benezet and his son-in-law, Robert Purvis whose second wife was a Friend. This Philadelphia colored family had many other connections with Friends.

IN Edward C. Wagenknecht's anthology *When I was a Child* one chapter (pp. 289-299) is entitled "A Quaker Boy Goes to Meeting" by Rufus M. Jones (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1946).

JOHN MINNS, a Friend or at least a graduate of a Friends' school and sharing Quaker principles against oaths and military service, was born about 1770 and became a baker at Nassau in the Bahamas. How he was rescued from drowning by a Negro princess, Rosetta, who later became his servant and Christian wife and mother of his two sons, is related following the account in *A Tribute to the Negro,* 1848, in *Negro History Bulletin,* 10 (1947), 158-59.

MRS. LOUISE MORSE WHITMAN discusses "Herbert Hoover and the Osages" in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 25 (1947), 2-4. This refers to the period of about a year that the future President lived with his uncle Major Laban Miles while the latter was Indian agent under Grant's "Quaker Indian policy," and went to school with Osage children in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma).

IN THE *Annals of Iowa,* 27 (1946), pp. 231-235, excerpts from an unpublished address of Herbert Hoover are published under the title "Iowa through the Eyes of a Ten-Year Old."

JOHN E. POMFRET has published in *William and Mary Quarterly,* Third series, 5 (1948), 95-105, a newly acquired document in the William Blathwayt papers belonging to Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. It is a petition of 28 Feb. 1684/5 from Samuel Jennings and Thomas Budd of West New Jersey asking that the king do not make Edward Byllynge their governor. Mr. Pomfret makes this the basis for an article on "The Problem of the West Jersey Concessions of 1676/7" in which he argues that that famous liberal constitution is mainly of Byllynge's authorship and not, as usually supposed, William Penn's.

IN *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* 77 (1946), 98-106, is an article on "Edmund Titus of Westbury, L. I. and Some of his Descendants," contributed by Mrs. William Johnson from materials compiled in 1760 by Samuel Willis and since expanded. It is illustrated by winter and summer views of Westbury Meeting House.

VERGILIUS FERM has edited a book called *Religion in the Twentieth Century* (New York, The Philosophical Library, 1948). Of the twenty-eight chapters, eleven deal with forms of Christianity. One of these, by Howard H. Brinton, is on the Society of Friends (pp. 227-240). It is both historical and descriptive and for its length is as excellent a summary as could be put into the hands of an inquirer. A reprint is available through Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa.